

# CABARET:

OR, THE

## Faction Expos'd.

WITH SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

FOR A

## Lasting Settlement.

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In a LETTER to a MEMBER of  
PARLIAMENT.

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*I know no Resolutions more worthy a Christian King, than to prefer his  
Conscience before his Kingdoms. K. Charles I. Eikon Basil. c. 6.*

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LONDON,

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SIR,

**H**AD you known how averse I have always been from ripping up old *Sores*, or hitting others on the *Teeth* with their past *Miscarriages*, when they promise to grow wiser and mend their *Manners*, you wou'd not, I am confident, have impos'd upon me so ungrateful a *Task*, as the giving you an account of the *extravagant Proceedings* of some of our late pretended *Patriots*, which promoted, if not occasion'd, the *Tragical Scene* like to have follow'd, had not *Providence* miraculously interpos'd.

But when you assure me, 'tis not only convenient, but very necessary for the Publick Service, in the present posture of Affairs, to expose to the World the *fatal Consequences* of *Factions* and *Cabals*, and the *unwarrantable Resolutions* of a prevailing part of the *Commons* in our two last *Parliaments*, that others may thereby take warning to avoid that unhappy *Rock*, whereon their Predecessors have so unluckily split; this *powerful Charm*, which shall ever Influence all the *Actions* of my *Life*, together with the *weight* of your own *Commands*, have forc'd me at last to a *compliance*. And tho' for the most part, this Subject has been already handled by several *Pens*, and particularly by the *Author* of the *Lawyer Outlaw'd*, who made it his business to shew by several Reasons and Arguments, besides divers *Acts* of *Parliament*, and a great many *Presidents* and *Records*, that as the *Fears* and *Jealousies* of the *People* were groundless and *imaginary*, so the *Resolutions* of the *Leading Members* at that time were *Arbitrary* and *Illegal*, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the *fundamental Laws* of the *Nation*: Yet at your request, since the *Gentlemen* were pleas'd to get their *Votes Printed*, by way of an *Appeal* to the *People*, I will amongst others briefly offer you my *Thoughts* upon the matter, but after some few preliminaries, will begin mine where that *Gentleman* ended his *Discourse*.

You remember, I suppose, what a *Noise*, what a *Bustle* has  
B  
been

been made with contriv'd Stories, and continual Alarums of Plots and Conspiracies upon our Religion and Liberty, like the Romans *Hannibal ad Portas*, when there was no danger of either; and what a stir they kept with their tumultuous Petitions and Addresses from all the Fanaticks and Republicans of the Kingdom in Winter 79. for the Parliaments sitting, which alone they thought was able to cure this *Maladie imaginaire*: And yet when the Parliament met, and sat long enough to have redress'd all the reall Grievances of the Nation, our Worthy Patriots ev'n left us in a worse condition than they found us. The late King of ever blessed Memory, whom God has taken from an ungrateful Generation that was not worthy of him, to Reign with himself in Glory, offer'd them a great deal more than Subjects ought in duty to expect from their Sovereign; yet nothing but the very unbining of the Government, by that Antimonarchical project the Bill of Exclusion, wou'd in any measure satisfie their Ambition. The Loyal Gentlemen of the Country, who dutifullly obey'd their Princes Lawful Proclamation, were toss'd from Post to Pillar by their Catchpoles, and their Ban-Dogs, as Traitors to the People, and kept several Weeks under a tedious and chargeable confinement, without the least pretence of Law, or Colour of Justice: And at the same time Sidney and Ludlow, and all the Republican Gang of 41. who were skulking abroad ever since his late Majesties most happy Restauration, flock'd home with all possible expedition, and were the great Favourites of our Leading Members. But it was certainly a very Comical passage how civilly they treated Mr. William Stawell, one of their Abhorrers, who had the courage to disobey their unwarrantable Summons, and tell their Messenger, if he did any thing contrary to Law, he wou'd answer for't; as the Law directs, in the same County, where the Fact was committed. The Leading Members were so puzzled at this unexpected Answer, that they knew neither how to digest nor revenge so great an affront, while Mr. Stawell had so much Law of his side; yet thinking it absolutely necessary to find out some Sham or other to blind the World, lest this shou'd be made a Leading Card for others to flight their pretended Authority, they very obligingly Voted the Gentleman sick, and unable to appear before them; and therefore were pleas'd to allow him a mouths time for his appearance. Votes 4. December 1680.

But

But this, and (if you except the grand project of *Exclusion*) all the other tricks and devices they made use of for eleven Weeks together to *enflame* and *distract* the *People*, seem'd but a *Flare-bit*, if compar'd with the *unparallel'd Votes* they pass'd some days before they forc'd the *King* to a *Prorogation*: When *Sampson-like*, who by pulling down the *Pillars* of the *House*, destroy'd more *Philistines* on the day of his *Death*, than in his whole *Life* before, they did more mischief by shaking the *Foundation* of the *Government* the three last days of their sitting, than in all the rest of their turbulent *Reign*.

*Resolved*, (say they) *That His Majesty in His last Message, having assured this House of his readiness to concur in all other means, for the preservation of the Protestant Religion; This House doth declare; that until a Bill be likewise passed for Excluding the D. of York, this House cannot give any supply to His Majesty, without danger to His Majesties Person, extream hazard of the Protestant Religion, and unfaithfulness to those by whom this House is entrusted.* Votes 7th Jan. 1680.

In this *Vote* we may observe with some *Astonishment* the great *Condescensions* of a *Gracious Prince*, and the ungrateful *Returns* of a *stubborn People*, who got a *knack*, of late days, to stand upon such *trucking* and *bartering* with their *Sovereign*, as their *Predecessors* durst not have offer'd in former *Agés*. Once indeed they presum'd on the *Usurpation* of *H. 4.* who, because of his *unjust Title*, they thought wou'd deny them nothing: And therefore in the *Second Year* of his *Reign*, *The Commons* desired they *might have Answer of their Petitions before the gift of any Subsidy*; to which the *King* answer'd, *He would conferr with the Lords, and do what should be best, according to their Advice.* And the *last day* of the *Parliament* He gave this *Answer*, *That that manner of doing had not been seen nor used in no time of His Progenitors or Predecessors, that they should have any Answer of their Petitions, or knowledge of it, before they have shewed and finished all their other business of Parliament, be it of any Grant, Business, or otherwise: And therefore the King would not in any ways change the good Customs and Usages made and used of ancient times.* But now, it seemes, the *case* is alter'd, and *No Care, No Money*, is always the *Bargain*.

The King proffers to concur with them in all other *Expedients* for their security, without any Limitation or Restriction, against the groundless *Fears* and *Jealousies* they pretended; but the *Hoghen-Moghen* scorn'd to accept of any thing He cou'd safely consent to: And therefore when His Majesty press'd them to think of a supply for the relief of *Tangier*, they, as became such *Loyal* and *Dutiful Subjects*, flatly refus'd it, because of the apparent *Danger* it threatn'd to His Majesties Person, and to the *Protestant Religion*, if the *Moors* were beaten upon their own *Dunghill*.

Thus all *Expedients* are quite out of doors, and Voted not only insufficient, but dangerous; and no care must be taken to rescue *Tangier* out of the hands of *Barbarians*, for fear of *hazarding* His Majesties Person, and the *Protestant Religion*, by weakning the *Mahometan Interest*: No regard to the growing Greatness of *France*, nor the least thought of securing a distracted *Nation* from the Designs of so potent an *Enemy*, and not a *Groat* to be given for the *Honour* and *Welfare* of the *Kingdom*, without the forbidden fruit, the *Bill of Exclusion*. And so hot they were upon this *unlucky* *Scent*, that like *Æsop's Dog* in the *Manger*, they wou'd neither give any Money themselves, to supply the Kings urgent *Necessities*, and to maintain his *Credit* (wherein was contain'd that of the whole *Nation*) either at home or abroad, nor as much as in them lay, suffer others to part with any; to which purpose, least the *Purse-Strings* of the *Nation*, which they kept very close, shou'd chance to fail them, they bethought themselves of an *encharmed Padlock*, never before made use of, for their further *Security*; and to that end they pass'd the following *Vote*.

*Resolved*, That whosoever shall lend, or cause to be lent by way of *advance*, any Money upon the branches of the Kings *Revenue*, arising by *Customs*, *Excise*, or *Hearth-Money*; shall be adjug'd to binder the *sitting* of *Parliaments*, and shall be responsible for the same in *Parliament*, Votes *ibid*.

But why should *Subjects* be condemn'd of this *Ruz-bear Crime*, for lending the King their own *Money* upon a *valuable Consideration*? Or why *forejudg'd* by the *House of Commons*, who never had the *Power of Judicature*? What, are we gone back again to *Forty One*, to be thus *bag-ridden* a *second time*? or can we be thought

thought altogether so stupid, as to have forgot the *Tyrannical Usage* we then receiv'd from a pack of *Villains*, that call'd themselves the House of *Commons*, and thought their *Nemine Contradicente* was enough to avoid both *Law* and *Gospel*? No Sir, *A burnt Child dreads the Fire*, and the *Nation* having by a *dear bought Experience* open'd their *Eyes*, are of late more afraid of their *fellow-Subjects* *Usurpation*, than ever they have been of the *Princes Encroachment*: And therefore this *Unwarrantable Vote* signified no more, but to let the *People* know what they might expect from such *Patriots*, if they had kept any longer in the *Saddle*; since they had as much *Power* to get all the *Money of England* into their *Custody and Disposal*, as to make it *Penal* in any one to dispose of his own, as he pleas'd. But let us hear their *last Speech* and *Confession* on the happy day of their *Prorogation*, which restor'd many an *Honest Man* to his *Liberty*, and the *Nation* to some interval of *Tranquillity*.

*Resolved*, that whosoever advised his *Majesty* to prorogue this *Parliament*, to any other purpose than in order to the passing of a *Bill for the Exclusion of the Duke of York*, is a *Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of England; a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner to France.* *Votes* 10. Jan. 1680.

This is but the old *Cant* in a new Dres, and the refin'd *Language* of *Billingsgate Oratours*, who always think it the best *Policy* to cry *Whore first*, the better to stop the mouths of their *Adversaries*. But I appeal to any *Man* of common *Sense*; if these very *Men*, even at that time, were not the *grand Promoters* of the *French Interest*, and consequently *Pensioners to France*. For had that *Politick Monarch* employ'd so many *Agents* into *England*, 'tis plain he cou'd not have pitch'd on a furer way to forward his *Designs*, than the dividing and distracting the *People* here; which these *Gentlemen* have notoriously done to the utmost of their *Power*. And to say, they were so *Generous* as to have serv'd him *gratis*, is so far from lessening, that it will much aggravate the *Crime*; since the *Man* that betrays his *Country* for a *Reward*, is far more excusable, than he that does it out of *meer Malice and Ill-will*. I will easily allow them, which I think no *Man*:

Man in his *Wits* will deny, that the *French King* has been theſe  
many years past, and is like to continue, because 'tis his *Interest*,  
the great *Disturber* of our *Israels Peace*. He is ſenſible, we are  
the only *Nation* now able, if united amongst our ſelves, to give  
a *Check* to his unliuited *Ambition*, and defeat his long hatch'd  
*Designs* of an *Universal Monarchy*. 'Tis his *Business* therefore to fo-  
ment our *Differences*, and fet us together by the *Ears*, till he  
ſtnds himſelf in a *Condition* to fall upon us, and destroy us. He  
has already found out our *Blind Side*, our frightful *Apprehenſions* of  
*Popery* and *Arbitrary Government* upon every ſlight, or ra-  
ther no occaſion, which the *Author* of the *Book* call'd the *Policy*  
of *France*, has long ſince chalk'd out as the moſt *infallible way*  
to break us all to pieces. But if we conſider what ſort of Men  
have of late years purſued this very *Method*, with more than  
*ordinary Zeal*, have ſtudied all ways imaginable to enflame the  
*Nation*, and bring their *Sovereign* into an *odium* with his *People*,  
and by this *Means* have given the *French* an *opportunity* to add  
*Caſal* and *Strasbourg*, *Courtray*, *Luxemburg*, and other *Places* of  
*Importance* to his new *Acquisitions*, and to cast ſeveral *Slurs* and  
*Affronts* upon this *Kingdom* both by *Sea* and *Land*: We ſhall eaſi-  
ly find, that whoeuer receiv'd the *Pensions*, theſe very *Gentle-  
men* that cry ſo loud againſt it, were the *grand Promoters* of the  
*French Interest*. I am ſorry this can be ſaid of any, much leſs  
of ſo many of the *Representatives* of the *Commons of England*;  
or that any ſhould be found among them ſo unmindful of the  
*Publick*, or ſo far infatuated with a *blind unſeasonable Zeal* for *Re-  
ligion*, as inſtead of oppoſing the *Common Enemy*, to ſerve and  
forward his *Designs*. Yet this muſh we have to ſay to our *Com-  
fort*, that even in that *House* there was a *Rennant left* that *bowed*  
*not the knee to Baſal*, as *Loyal Subjects*, and as hearty *Lovers*  
of their *Country*, as ever ſate within thoſe *Walls*, tho' ſtill out-vot-  
ed by the *cunning and address* of the *Faction*, who with their plau-  
ſible *Pretences of Religion and Liberty*, when they really meant  
*Slavery and Confuſion*, by unhinging the beſt of *Governments*, car-  
ried all before them. For 'tis plain, there is nothing more dan-  
gerous to our preſent *Peace and future Happiness* than the creating  
ſuch unlucky *diviſions and miſunderſtandings* amongst us; no-  
thing more neceſſary for our *Preservation*, than a *laſting union* and  
a *mutual confidence* between *Prince and People*: And thierefore as  
all

all good Subjects are now satisfied, these Gentlemen were led by another *Sytle* than that of the *Publick good*; so I question not but every true Englishman will mark all those for the future, that will run upon the same *Scent*, and look upon them as *Betrayers of their Country*, hired by our *Enemies* to prepare us for *Destruction*. But how, I beseech you, cou'd the *Proroguing* of that *Parliament*, be a *promising* of *French designs*? What have they done, all the while they sat, in opposition to *France*, or what have they omitted to please that *ambitious Prince*, and secure him in his *Conquests*; all their *Votes* and *Resolutions*, their *Addresses* and *Remonstrances* being all along *subservient* to his *Ends* and *Purposes*? The reason was, I suppose, that having set up for *Popular Patriots*, to please the *unthinking Multitude* in some measure, they thought it necessary to give them a few *Sugar Plums*, by seeming to huff against the *French*, tho' it was the least of their Thoughts to disoblige so good a *Friend*: As on the other side they pass'd in the following vote high *Complements* on their zealous *Sticklers* in *London*, who had bin all along very useful to the *Ringleaders* of the *Faction*, to engage them further in the *Cause*.

*Resolved*, that the thanks of this *House* be given to the *City of London*, for their manifest *Loyalty* to the *King*, their *care*, *charge*, and *vigilancy* for the *preservation* of his *Majesties Person*, and of the *Protestant Religion*. Votes ib.

I wish the *Gentlemen*, since their *Hand* was in, had so far oblig'd their *Friends* in *London*, as to have given us any one instance either of their *Loyalty* to the *King*, or of their *Care* for the *establisht Religion*, in the whole *course* of their *unhappy Government*. I know very well, there were at that time many *Loyal* and *Conscientious Protestants* in *London*, whose prudent conduct and management of *Affairs*, has since very much contributed to the *Peace* and *Welfare* of the *Nation*. But at this time they were only *Cyphers*, out of all *Power* and *Command*, and daily rundown under the *Notion* of *Tories* and *Papists* in *Masquerade*. As for those *Worthies* here caref'd and applauded for the *Watchmen* of *Israel*, who have since either fled for their *Villanies*, or got under the *Hatches* for several *Misdemeanors*, none but such *Patriots* wou'd have left them unpunisht, much les have thank'd them for their black

*Exploits*;

*Exploits*; who made *London* then the *Nursery* of the *Faction*, as formerly it was the *Seminary* of the late horrid *Rebellion*: where all the wicked *Measures*, all the *illegal Votes* and *unmannerly Addresses*, that have bin since made use of within *Doors* or without, were contriv'd and hammer'd by *Factions Clubs* and *Cabals*, several Months before the *Parliament* sate, and divers *Copies* distributed among the *Leading men*; whereof the late *King* had a full account given him by a *Gentleman* that seem'd to be of the *Gang*, but was so honest as to let his *Majesty* know the whole *Mystery* of *Iniquity*. In fine, so *Insolent* they were, and so *Violent* against the *Monarchy*, that it was impossible for the *King* to be at ease, or the *Nation* at quiet, while such *Incendiaries* without, to back the *Associators* within *Doors*, had the *management* of the *Capital City*, which in effect is the *Rudder* of the whole *Kingdom*; And therefore all his *Majesties* other endeavours to get the better of the *Faction*, as his now *Proroguing*, then *dissolving* his *Parliaments*, (whereby instead of *mending* they became still more *furious* at their next Meeting) signified no more than *Hercules* in the *Fable* now and then cutting off one of *Hydra's Heads*, which grew *double* as often as cut off. But when the *King*, having tryed in vain all other *Expedients*, seiz'd upon the *Charter of London*, which they had forfeited over and over; then, and not till then, he gain'd a compleat Victory, and with that *single blow* cut off all the heads of the *Monster*.

Now the *Associators* finding the *Fanaticks* in *London* so active and so zealous in the *Cause*, 'twas no wonder if in *return* they made bold a little to stretch both the *Law* and the *Gospel*, to oblige such useful and necessary *Tools*; especially when they cou'd ease their *Friends*, and run down their *Enemies* with the same *Breath*: And therefore 'tis wisely

*Resolved*, that it is the *Opinion* of this *House*, that the *City of London* was burnt in the year 1666 by the *Papists*, designing thereby to introduce *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* into this *Kingdom*. *Votes* 10. *Jan. 1680.*

For it was well known, the *Fanaticks* were shrewdly suspected of this horrid *Crime*, six of them having confess'd the *Design* at the

the place of Execution, and nam'd the time within a day, near upon five Months before it happen'd; as may be seen in the Gazette 26. of April 66. Nero's Policy therefore must be us'd, to turn it another way, and the *Wicked* suffer for the Sins of the *Godly*; tho' not out of any hatred either to the worst *Principles* or *Practices*, that ever the *Papists* were accus'd of, but merely to make them a *Striking Force*, the better to come at their own *Game*. The *Gentlemen* certainly were true *Friends* indeed, who to hide the *Knavery* of their *Party*, generously ventur'd to expose their own *Folly* to the *World*. What *rational connection*, I pray, can we find between the *burning of London* and the *introducing of Popery*, or between that and *Arbitrary Power*? As if the *Papists* made *Slavery* a piece of their *Religion*, to whose *Care* and *Prudence*, as *Freeborn Englishmen*, we owe all our *Fundamental Rights* and *Priviledges*, and even the most excellent *Constitution of Parliaments*. Yet suppose, the *Papists* were such *Fools*, (as certainly they must be the *meerest Ideots* upon Earth, or they are basely believ'd) as to prefer *Slavery* to *Liberty*, and think that horrid *Conflagration* serviceable to their *purpose*; how came they to miss of the *End*, at least not to push for't, since they sped so well, even beyond all *Expectation*, in the *Means* they propos'd? Where lay their *Money in Bank*, or their *Men* in *readiness*? Who oppos'd this formidable *Army*, or how came they to vanish without doing some *Execution*? But enough of this *ridiculous, Nonsensical Stuff*, contriv'd by *Knaves*, and believ'd by *Fools*, and most unluckily *Canniz'd* at last in St. Stephens *Chappel*, to the everlasting *Shame* of the *Authors*.

As for their intended *kindness* to the *D. of M.* which really turn'd to his *Disadvantage*, to have such *Mediators* as wanted *Mediators* and *Pardons* for themselves, to get him restor'd to his former *Places* and *Implyments*, it was grounded upon the same *Foundation* with the former. They wheedled the *Poor Man*, to serve their own *Ends*, from his *Duty* and all worldly *Happiness*, with the *Chimerical Hopes* of a *Crown*, which he had neither *Right* to *Enjoy*, nor *Brains* to *Support*; and being in *Law* but *Filius Populi*, they made him *Don Populario* to his *Ruine*. For 'tis alwaies observ'd, that the *Devill owes the Fool a spite*, when he makes him a *Politician*.

Thus our *Associators*, like the *Old Dragon* in the *Revelation*,

having great Wrath, because they knew they had but a short time, labour'd to make the best of it they cou'd for their Purpose; and therefore ceas'd not to spit their Venom on all sides to oblige their Friends, and revenge themselves on their Enemies: For tho' they expected every moment the pale Messenger of Death; yet like true Cargilites they continued to the very last minute blaspheming against the Government. But the Fatal Hour is come at length, and the Hoggen Moggen, who acted as if they had the same Commission with the Prophet Jeremiah, whom God had set over Nations, and over Kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to spoil and to destroy, and to build, and to plant; nevertheless with the least Blast of their Princes breath, they presently gave up the Ghost, and moulder'd away into nothing.

*Jer. 1. 10.*  
But the King, whom no Irregularities in Parliament cou'd put out of Love with so good and wholsome a Constitution, and the necessities of the Kingdom then requiring it, to quiet, if possible, the Minds of the distracted People, upon the Dissolution of the former, issued out new Summons for calling another: Yet considering that for some years before, the Faction in the House of Commons, and their Agents in London, went hand in hand, supporting and encouraging each other, to the great prejudice of the Publick, he resolv'd for once to try their Humor at Oxford; where notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Fanaticks, while they rul'd the Roast in that Ancient and Famous Nursery of Learning, during the late Usurpation, to corrupt the young Collegians with the old Leaven, Religion and Loyalty were still triumphant.

The Faction quickly apprehending the Disadvantages they shou'd lie under, near to Learned, and so Loyal an University, where their Shams wou'd not take, nor their Practices bear Water; where they shou'd want their Cabals to prepare Schemes, and the unruly Rabble to make a Noise, immediately put their Heads together to divert this, as to them, most Fatal Resolution. And having drawn up an Unmannerly sort of a Petition, not so much Praying as Threatning the King with the ill Consequences of removing his Parliament from London; which they got sign'd by as many Lords as they cou'd get of their Gang, to the number of Sixteen, they pitch'd upon the unhappy Earl of Essex to present it to his Majesty; who chearfully undertook the Province, that

that he might seem the *Ring-leader* of the *Party*, and usher'd it in with a most *Impertinent Harangue* \* which they had prepar'd for him upon that Occasion. But the King was too *Wise* to be impos'd upon by such Men ; whom he knew so well, that their *Petition*, in stead of working any *Change*, confirm'd him in his former *Purpose* ; and therefore the *Petitioners* were dismiss'd without any further *Satisfaction*.

This unexpected *Repulse* put the *Faction* to some *Stand* ; yet having no other *Remedy*, they got the *Speech* and *Petition* immediately printed, by way of *Appeal*, as their *Custom* was, to the *Multitude* ; but in few days after, the chief *Heads* of both were briefly confuted by an honest *Gentleman*, whose *Answer*, you tell me, never came to your hands ; and therefore because *Loyal* and *Short*, and withal somewhat *Propheticall*, as to that unfortunate *Earl*, I will here insert for your *Perusal*.

My Lord.

“ *To* the great *Esteem* I have always had as well for your *Lordships Parts and Prudence*, as your *Fathers Loyalty*, inclines me to make a favourable Construction of your *Words and Actions* ; yet the late *Speech*, and *Petition* published under your *Name*, are of so strange a nature, and of so ill an aspect in our present *Circumstances*, that I cannot but acquaint you with my *Thoughts* upon that unseasonable *Subject* ; wherein did I not see my *Sovereign* so nearly concern'd, that many do construe, this was not so much *Petitioning*, as *Threatning* his *Sacred Majesty*, I wou'd have silently pass'd it over, and buried my *Resentments* in *Oblivion*.

“ I am sorry, my Lord, you begin with so weak an *Observation* from *Histories* and *Records*, as that many *Parliaments* have been unfortunate when call'd at Places remote from the *Capital City*. Did you ever observe how unfortunate many have been, when call'd in this *Capital City* ; or how many have been unfortunate, when elsewhere conven'd ? Do not all *Writers* of the late *Rebellion* observe it a great *oversight* in our *Royal Martyr*, not to have call'd his long *Parliament* to *Tork*, or some other Place, remote from *London* ; where so many *Factionous Cabals* were constantly held, and so many *Pernicious Contentions* daily hammer'd, besides the *Rabbles tumultuous run-*

\* 25. Jan. 1680.

"ning to Westminster-Hall, and the Common Councils petitioning,  
"or rather advising his Majesty, (Mechanicks turning Politicians,  
"and leaving their Shops and Trade, to sit at the Helm of Gov-  
"ernment) that all wise men conclude, thence came the Plague  
"of War and Desolation upon the whole Kingdom.

"But your Observation is not so weak, as your Presidents are  
"Emphatical and Mysterious. You instance three unhappy Kings,  
"and without the least ground in History, you seem to suppose  
"the Places of calling their Parliaments, the Cause of their Mis-  
"carriages. I am sure, my Lord, you know the contrary is  
"manifest by our most Authentick Monuments and Records. To  
"Popular Fears and Jealousies, fermentated by Ambitious and Dis-  
"contented Grandees and pretended Patriots, these, as most Princ-  
"ipes in general, ow'd all their troubles and calamities; as now  
"we do in a great Proportion.

"To these Henry II. by you mention'd, ow'd the unnatural  
"Broils and Distractions of his Kingdom, when they and Lewis the  
"VII, King of France, to make the Case the more Parallel, in-  
"cited the Son to rebell against the Father; in which never-  
"theless they were thus far more excusable than others, that  
"the Son was no Bastard, but the undoubted Heir of the Crown,  
"and a titular King.

"These were in like manner the chief Cause of all the Mis-  
"chiefs and Miseries of Henry the Third's Reign, when under  
"the Colour of redressing the Peoples Grievances, they brought  
"upon the Nation the greatest Grievance of all, an Intestine  
"Civil War for many years together: And tho' they loud-  
"ly pretended to fight for the Liberty of the Subjects, yet  
"themselves were no better than so many Tyrants; as ancien-  
"t and modern Authors have observ'd, Baker p. 86.

"As for Henry VI. his Fate was the Consequence of his Grand-  
"fathers Usurpation; for *De male questiis vix gaudet tertius Ha-*  
"*eres.* The People at last weary of their Change, began to open  
"their Eyes, and think it better to submit to their Lawful Prince,  
"than to a violent Usurper. Nevertheless this Revolution cou'd  
"not have been effected but with a great deal of difficulty,  
"had not a gap been open'd by the Ambition of wicked States-  
"men, who to have the sole Management of Affairs to them-  
"selves, contriv'd the death of the Kings Uncle, and only Sup-  
"port,

"part, the Great Duke of Gloucester; as now some conspire a-  
"gainst His Royal Highness, the better to enable themselves  
"to dispose of the King as they please.

"These are the chief *heads* of your unfeasable *Speech*,  
"but your *Portrait* runs a little further. In the first place you  
"aggravate the *Dangers of Popery*, of which all true *Protestants*  
"are sufficiently *Apprehensive*; yet withal, my *Lord*, we are too  
"sensible the *Papists* are not our only *Enemies*. We have whole  
"Swarms of *un governable* *Sectaries*, and *Republicans* in great  
"numbers, that seem to hate the *Name*, but in themselves love  
"the *Practice* of *Arbitrary Power*; that pretend to stand for  
"the *Church of England*, but really advance *Presbytery*; Infine,  
"that wou'd fain perswade us they are great *Lovers of the King*,  
"tho' by their *Actions* we may easily see, they care but little  
"for his *Government*.

"You are troubl'd it seems, that the next *Parliament* is to  
"meet at *Oxford*, where (you say) neither *Lords* nor *Commons*  
"can be in *safety*, but will be daily expos'd to the *Swords* of the  
"*Papists*, and their *Adherents*; of whom too many have crept in-  
"to his *Majesties Guards*. Do you know, my *Lord*, of any such  
"*Papists* now in the *Guards*? If you do, 'tis your *Duty* to your  
"*King* and *Country* to have them secur'd: If not, 'tis a ground-  
"less *Suspicion*, and a very frivolous *Pretence*, unfit to be menti-  
"on'd by *Persons of Honour*. Certain it is, we have more rea-  
"son to believe such unfeasable *Petitioners* are addicted to  
"*Presbytery*, than his *Majesties Guards* inclin'd to *Popery*: For  
"the latter do openly protest against the *Papists*, have often ta-  
"ken *Tests* and *Oaths* against that *Religion*; but the former are  
"zealous *Solicitors* for the *Fanatics*, and endeavour to unite  
"them to the *Church of England*, not by their coming to us,  
"but ours to them; we losing our own *Ground*; and they still  
"keeping theirs. But to wave this, if his *Majesty* thinks himself  
"safe at *Oxford*, and doubts not to commit his *Sacred Person*  
"to his *Guards*, what Reason have you to apprehend any *Dan-  
ger*? Sure, 'tis his *Majesties* *dearth*, not yours, the *Papists* have  
"hitherto design'd: How then can you be so *Apprehensive*, while  
"he is *secure*?

"As for the *Kings Evidence*, I doubt not but they will clear-  
"fully endure a little *Inconveniencie*, to make an end of this  
"Executive

“ Execrable Plot. ‘Tis an advantage most of them have, that “ they have bin brought up and us'd to ~~mane~~ and ~~hardship~~; which “ now, I am confident, they will not decline, to consummate “ the great Work they have so well begun.

“ My Lord, I wish as heartily as any man in *England*, the frequent Meetings of *Parliaments*, and the good *Correspondence of Prince and People*. I am perhaps as much concern'd as another, to have the *Liberty* of the *Subject* preserv'd inviolable. “ Yet when I see those, that shou'd be the *Preservers* of this *Liberty*, first invade it, and endeavour to *Monopolize Arbitrary Power* to themselves, I think *self-preservation* allows me to oppose them. ‘Tis a true saying, *Corruptio optimi pessima*, and experience tells us, that *Parliaments* may err as well as *Kings*.

“ I will Conclude with a short *Reflection* on some Transactions preceding the *long Parliament* in the late *King's Reign*; where it is observable, that his *Majesty* finding his *Parliaments* still *Retrograde*, and bent rather to foment than compose the *Differences* of the *Kingdom*, in *September 40*. He summon'd the *Great Council* of his *Peers*, to consult about the weighty *Affairs* of the *Nation*: But this (saith a late *Historian*) was not very well lik'd of by those who favour'd the *Scots*, whose chief *Design* aim'd at the calling of a *Parliament*, which they fear'd the meeting of the *Peers* might prevent. Wherefore the *Earls* of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Mouldgrave*, *Bul-*  
*lingbrook* and *Bristol*, and the *Lords* *Say*, *Brook*, *Paget*, *Mande-*  
*vile*, and the *Lord* *Edward Howard*, presented a *Petition* to the *King*, representing many great *Distempers* and *Dangers*, threatening the *Church* and *State*, and his *Royal Person*; as *Sundry Innovations* in *Matters of Religion*; increase of *Papery*, by employing *Papists* in places of *Trust*; the great *Mischief* that might ensue, if the *Forces* rais'd in *Ireland* shou'd be brought into *England*, &c. For *Remedy* whereof, they pray, that a *Parliament* might be *Summoned*, to redress these *Grievances*, and punish the *Authors*; and likewise to compose the *War* with *Scotland* without *Blood*, and unite both *Kingdoms* against the *Common Enemy* of the *Reformed Religion*. And this was seconded by another *Petition* to the same Effect, from their *Common Hackney*, the *Common Council* of *London*. See *Baker* p. 470.

“ These, my *Lord*, were as fair pretences, and as plausible Inducements to have a *Parliament* then call'd, as any you can offer at present for the Meeting of the next in *London*; and yet the

“ *World*,

"World knows what pernicious Designs were then a hatching  
"against the King and Government by those very Persons who  
"promoted that Petition, and happy had his Majesty and the  
"whole Nation been had he reflected their Importunity. To every  
"thing there is a Season, saith the Wise Man, and without doubt  
"there is a Season for Petitioning. It is certainly our Duty, with  
"all Humanity to beg of our Sovereign what we think necessary  
"for the Publick, but to presume to do, when he declares against  
"it, for good Reasons as we ought in good manners to suppose, is a  
"very great Presumption, not to be endur'd in a Subject. If the Laws  
"have settled in the King the absolute Power of Calling, Adjourning,  
"Proroguing and Dissolving his Parliaments, when and where he  
"pleases, shall we be Wiser than the \* Laws, \* Reminem oper-  
"and Limit our Princes Will, or question his Preroga-  
"tive? Reminem oper-  
-Se Legibus. Cook

"In Fine, when Discontented Statesmen are found the Promoto-  
"r of such Petitions, 'tis Natural to suspect they do it for some  
"Sinister Design; Timeo Danaos & bona ferentes. If the great Poli-  
"tician Achitophel hang'd himself through discontent, because his  
"Counsel was not follow'd, we cannot in Prudence but think others  
"will leaving States in turn'd to gratify their Passions. There are  
"some Weathercocks in the World, who had a hand in all the Revo-  
"lutions of their time, modo harum, modo illarum partium, but  
"never Faithful to any; if Your Lordship be so far overseen, as  
"to joyn with Those, they will certainly leave you in the Lurch,  
"when 'tis too Late to Repent. Therefore in time consider the  
"Wise Man's Advice: My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King,  
"and Meddle not with them that are given to Change; for their Ca-  
"lamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both.  
"Prov. 24. 27.

*I am Yours &c.*

Now if we compare the last Paragraph of this Letter with the Fatal End of that unhappy Earl, we shall find the Prediction verified to a Hair, and the Gentleman's Conjectures turn'd in a manner into a Prophecy. The Poor Man found at last to his Sorrow, he was left in the Lurch by Crooked Achitophel, when it was indeed too late to Repent; and therefore out of Remorse of Conscience, and deep Despair, for the baseness of his Crimes against his Sovereign, rended

yet more odious with the Blackness of *Imposture*, in accomplishing the Death of his Prince that he did formerly labour upon him, and in a great measure rais'd him *against* *Nothing*, notwithstanding all his *Reproved* *Zeal* for *Religion* his Country and his *King* and *Subjects*, as  
39 *by* *their* *own* *hands* upon *himself* *thrust* *him* *as* *it* *was* *a* *bold* *giant*  
But enough of this ungrateful Subject, and now let us observe  
a little the *Manners* of that *absorbe Parliament* *AD* *1601*, whether  
the *Leading Members* are conducted, as it were in *Triumph*, by  
Formidable Bodies of the *Nation*, to strike *Terror* into all their  
*Opposers*. The many *Feils* and *disappointments* they received in  
the *Preceding Parliament*, were so far from bringing them to  
any *Calmness* or *Moderation*, that now they are resolv'd with  
greater *Heat* and *Violence* than ever, to pursue their former *Designs*.  
In the *Westminster Parliament*, wh<sup>o</sup> they made bold to inser in  
one of their *Bills* a *Clause* for repealing the *Statutes* \* *de Scandalis*  
*Magnatum*, thereby to bring the *Lords* upon an  
even *Level* with themselves; and to *Vote* several  
Peers, without any *Tryal* or *Conviction*, \* *Enemies*  
\* *Votes* *16 Dec.* *1680.* *to the King and Kingdom*, for advising his *Majest<sup>y</sup>*  
against the *Bill of Exclusion*: Yet they were so *mad*, as not to  
declare against the whole *House*, notwithstanding that his *Majest<sup>y</sup>*  
\* *7 Jan. 1680.* *had* told them in his *Message* some *daies* before  
\* *4 Jan. 1680.* *before* *the* *House* *of* *Commons* *had* *done* *nothing* *but* *repeal* *the* *Statutes* *de* *Scandalis* *Magnatum*, *and* *make* *the* *House* *of* *Commons* *equal* *to* *the* *House* *of* *Lords*.

4 Jan. 1850. \* He was confirm'd in his Opinion against the Bill of Exclusion by the Judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. But here we find them of a Braver Spirit, fit to bind Kings in Chains, and Nobles in Fetter'd of Iron: And therefore when the Lords, according to the known Law of the Land, rejected their contrivance of impeaching Fitzharris, and refer'd him to be Tryed at Common Law, they like bold Britons, charg'd the whole House of Peers with the highest Violation of Justice imaginable: And

1801 May 8<sup>o</sup>  
Resolved, That it is the undoubted Right of the Commons in Parliament assembled, to impeach before the Lords any Peer or Commoner for Treason, or any other Crime or Misdemeanour. And that the refusal of the Lords to proceed in Parliament upon such Impeachment, is a denial of Justice, and a violation of the Constitution of Parliament.

But I wish the Gentlemen had bin so just to themselves, as to have

What Grounds they proceeded upon in this particular, I claim they had any, besides their unaccountable Neglect of their Constituents. Howe soe ever it is understand, the great Charter of our Liberties, and the Fundamental Birthright of every Commoner, to be Tryed by Juries in all Capital Crimes, where the Criminal is allow'd to make divers & various Challenges, and as many more lastie can shew, & if tis most undoubtfull, nothing cou'd have been more ~~unwarrantable~~ than this very Resolv. Besides 'tis well known, that in the 4<sup>th</sup> Year of Ed. 3<sup>r</sup> after the Lords had been prevail'd upon to give Judgment on Sir Simon de Breford and several other Commoners, for the Murder of Ed. 2<sup>r</sup> and his Brother the Earl of Kent, there is an express Proviso still extant upon Record, that the Lords shou'd not for the future be oblig'd to judge any but their Peers.

And it is assented and accorded by our Lord the King, and all the Grandees in full Parliament; that albeit the Peers, as Judges of the Parliament, have taken upon them, and rendred Judgment, &c. That yet the said Peers, who now are, or shall be in time to come, be not bound or charged to render Judgments upon others than their Peers. Nor that the Peers of the Land have P.O.W.E.R to do this, but there-of ever to be discharged and acquitted: And that the aforesaid Judgment rendred be not drawn to Example or Consequence in time to come, whereby the said Peers shall do contrary to the Laws of the Land, if the like case happen, which God forbid. 4 Ed. 3. N. 6. And pursuant to this Proviso, when Sir William Cogan was accus'd in Parliament by Sir Richard Glevendon, 5 R. 2. N. 43 and 44. the Lords having heard the Cause, remitted both Parties to the Common-Law.

Where then is the ~~undoubted~~ Right of the Commons to impeach, or what Law or Statute can warrant their imposing upon the Lords to judge whom they please, contrary to such express Acts of Parliament? Or what cou'd be their Reason to be so much concern'd for Fitzbarris, a profess'd Papist, but to delay his Trial, when after Impeachment he cou'd not be brought to Justice but at their Suit, that by assuring him his Life, they might force him to pretend some new Discoveries, to breed more Confusion? They knew very well the Man had nothing to dis-

cover but his own *Villainous Intentions*, which he purpos'd contriv'd to save his Neck from the Gallows, charging himself with new *Crimes*, to avoid the punishment of the old. And Sir R. C. one of his Godfathers in Newgate made it plain enough, when he told the *House at Oxford*, Fitzharris ask'd him, whether he had not said enough to save his Life. But still it was the same thing to them, *Plots true or false* woud equally serve their turn; or rather *false ones* woud be more *useful*, because they cou'd turn them which way they pleas'd: And therefore to the very last they us'd all their *Arts and Endeavours* to bring him off, *Right or Wrong*, and to frighten the *Judges* from their *Duty*, they pass'd the following *Vote*;

*Resolved*, that for any *Inferior Court* to proceed against Edward Fitzharris, or any other Person lying under an *Impeachment* in *Parliament*, for the same crimes for which he or they stand *Impeached*, is an high breach of the *priviledge* of *Parliament*. *Votes 26. March 8.1.*

Sure these Gentlemen dreamt they were gone back to 41. and made *perpetual Dictators*, that they offer'd at this Rate to impose their wild *Ordinances* upon the *Nation*, in opposition to the fundamental *Laws* of the *Land*. 'Tis pity his *Majesty* did not suffer them to sit a little longer, that we might have more of such *edifying Resolutions*. And I wonder how cou'd *Prince* or *People* be weary of so obliging a *House of Commons*, who labour'd with a great deal of *Pains* and *Industry*, to imitate *Christ's* saying in the *Revelation*, *Behold I make all things new*; Rev. 21.5. *New Laws*, *new Religions*, and many *new frames* of *Government*, might we be assur'd of by this time, had not the *Almighty* seen their *Predecessors*, the *Rebellious Long-Parliament*, had given us too much of those *Blessings*. If *Caligula* fuck'd blood when a *Child*, what cou'd *People* hope from him when a *Man*? And if the *Faction* at *Oxford* arriv'd in six *days* time to that height of *Insolence*, as the *Commons* in 41. did not come near in six *months*, what a happy *Reformation* might we expect, had they also been made *perpetual*. But they liv'd too fast to live long, and notwithstanding this *extravagant Vote*, with the terrible *Bugbear* in the *Belly* on't, the *priviledge* of *Parliament*, which had formerly

by funk both Law and Gospel. Fitzharris was brought to Justice, and discover'd at the place of Execution both his Own and his Patrons villany.

Tis observable that in K. James 1. his time the *bloody Traytors* concern'd in the *Gun-powder Treason*, were all tryed and convicted by the course of the *Common Law*; and tho' the *Parliament* was then sitting, and the *Design* level'd as much against them, as against the *King and Royal Family*, yet not one of them did the *Commons* offer to impeach; neither is it to be imagin'd, that so wise a *Prince*, and so great a *Master of Kings-craft*, wou'd have suffer'd them to meddle with any of his *Prisoners*, since he did not allow them to take the least *cognizance* of the whole matter, where the *Inferior Courts* had power to proceed. No *voting* of *Plots* was then in fashion, no *examining* of *Witnesses* by *Secret Committees* of the *House of Commons*, no *suing* of *Pardons* or *Rewards* for mercenary needy *Informers*, as we have had of late days, to carry on the most uncouth ill-shap'd *Monster*, that ever appear'd in *Nature*. All was calmly examin'd, and judicially determin'd in the ordinary *Courts of Justice* without any further *Appeal*.

And many are of *Opinion*, it wou'd have been very much for the *Honour and Welfare* of the *Nation*, had the late *King* taken the like *method* in the *prosecution* of *Oates* his *Popish Plot*, which wou'd have prevented the *distractions* of his *People*, and wholly defeated the *designs* of his *Enemies*; who no sooner got the *management* of that *ridiculous Stuff* into their hands, but they improv'd it every day more and more to his *Majesties* disadvantage, still grafting *new Plots* on the *old Stock*, to keep the *People* in a *continual ferment*, till the *grand Plot* appear'd at last, which had not *Providence* miraculously prevented, wou'd have certainly prov'd the *Ruine* both of *King and Kingdom*. And who, I pray, were the *Ring-leaders* of this horrid *Conspiracy*, but the great *Dictators* of the *Faction*, and the noisy *Affertors* of our *Religion and Liberty* in those two *Parliaments* where, as we are since convinc'd, our true *Protestant Patriots* made all this bustle about the *Popish Plot* for no other end, but that they might under the *Umbrage* of that, carry on their own *undiscover'd*. Well might they cry his *Majesties* *Life* was still in *Danger*, who best knew what *Popish Machinations* they had on foot against his

Spoke of Persons, which ye other Journ'd with a great deal of  
Art, and Conning to throw upon the People, on  
whom they had already voted to release the King  
should come by any violent Death, they w'd revenge  
it to the utmost. And none made likely to act it than some of  
themselves, as soon afterwards appear'd. For, when they per-  
ceiv'd that neither their ~~illegal~~ King, nor ~~insolent~~ Addresses,  
nor all their other Arts and Contrivances cou'd prevail with  
the King to lay His Crown at their feet; and found moreover,  
that the main body of the Nation, their Friends in London,  
whose Purses and Consciences they always had at their Dis-  
posal, were upon declining, and like to loose the Charter they  
had so vigorously made use of against the Giver: then they  
thought it high time to bestir themselves, and try since no-  
thing else was like to succeed, what cou'd Sword and Bap-  
perbuss do.

This was the Plot indeed, and the well-contriv'd Design, where no Art was wanting to secure the success, no Pains but Providence able to defeat it. The Common People were already manag'd to some purpose, the Knaves prepar'd for executing any Villany, and the well-meaning Fools kept still gaping after the ridiculous Contrivances of the Papists, which if compar'd to this, will seem but a mere Phantasm or Shadow! For their forty Thousand Black Bills, their Screw'd Guns and Silver Bullets, their Spanish Pilgrims and Irish Auxiliaries, their White-Horse Consilie and D'Oliva's Commissions, and in fine, the whole Frame of that Bear's Cub, is no more than a childish piece of Pageantry, in comparison of the late Conspirator's methodical Attacks upon the Government; as their seditious Petitions and factious Addresses, their riotous Elections and perfid'g Ignoramus's their Anti-Monarchical Bill of Exclusion and treasonable Project of Association, and to crown the Work, their Council of Six and Rye-hough's undertaking.

The Train is so Obvious and Visible in the latter; and the Chain so easie to be tradd'ed out by link, while there is but little or no Coherence in the former, that the most any man in his right Wits can do, is to believe any part of the one, or disbelieve the least link of the other, and vice versa adగ  
But why should I speak more in Subtleties, or shew how long-

But why should I speak now in earnest, or dwell any longer.

erious, nothing so plain the whole Mystery of *Iniquity* is sufficiently reveal'd, and now only sworn to by many of the living, but own'd and confess'd by the dying *Conspirators*; Whereas we have little or nothing to support the Credit of the other, but the bare oaths of a pack of *Jayh-birds* and the most notorious of *Villains*, who for their *Bread* and *Liberty* were ready to swear any thing, while they had a head-strong *Faction* to back them, and pawn upon the *People* their *Romantick Dreams* for *New Revolutions*.

Now, if at last we sum up our *Accounts*, and compare our *Loss* and *Gain* upon the whole matter, as every prudent *Man* will do even in his private *Concerns*, what is the *Nation* the better for this way of proceeding? The *Monarchy* was thereby not only brought low, but upon the very brink of *Desolation*; the *establis'd Religion* defam'd, and the *Orthodox Clergy* made a *Grievance*; divers of his *Majesties good Subjects* daily harras'd, and rois'd from *Post* to *Pillar*; our *Credit* and *Reputation* lost abroad, and our *Trade* and *Commerce* in a manner ruin'd: And all this while not one to be nam'd, that was a *Gainer* by the matter, but *scandalous Libellers*, *factious Newsmongers*, and *perjur'd Informers*.

This is not all, our *Parliaments*, which in former Ages were deservedly look'd upon as the great *Physitians* of the *Body Politick*, (because of late years the *Leading Members* in the *House of Commons* prov'd such *Quacks* and *Mountebanks*, as seem'd to have only the *Art of Killing*, but not of *Curing* any) suffer'd so much in their *Credit*, especially with such as are apt to throw the *Faults* of the *Professors* upon the *Profession*, and the *Miscarriages* of some *Members* upon the whole *Constitution*, that many are of *Opinion*, it will be no small *difficulty* for the next to *Retrieve* their *Reputation*. It grieves me to find what some *Ingenious Gentlemen* have observ'd, that of the eight, which have been summon'd these 60 years past, we have had but One that we cou'd truly call a *Loyal* or *good Parliament*. The rest, through the *unhappy Choice* of ill *Members*, who aim'd more at their own *Ends* and *Designs* than the *Publick good*, some endeavouring by *Caballing* and *Bawling* against the *Government*, to get themselves bought off with *Honoars* and *Employments*, others labouring to promote *Fanaticism* and turn the *Monarchy* into a *Common-Wealth*, have occasion'd such *distractions*, such

such wild *Notions* and *Chimeras* among the *People*, that many an honest man thinks he has *Reason* to wish, as the *least* of the two *Evils*, rather to have no *Parliaments*, than to be plagued with the like for the future.

But the *Distemper*, I hope, is now pretty well over, and the *Nation* having had sufficient *Experience* of the *Fatal* consequences of *Faction* and *Sedition*, will (I doubt not) take such *Measures* at this time, as will make the next a *healing, restoring Parliament*; such as will not increase, but rather redress our *Grievances*, bring all the *Enemies* of the *Government* to *Condign Punishment*, procure and fix a good understanding between *Prince* and *People*, and thereby (the only *Means* to do it) *Retrieve* the *Reputation* their *Predecessors* have so unluckily lost, to the great *Prejudice* of the *Publick*.

This is the *sure* and *short way* to our *present Settlement* and future *Happiness*, so earnestly wish'd for by all *Loyal Subjects*, and no less dreaded by the *Disturbers* of our *Israels Peace*; who have therefore now all their *Engines* at work, to render this as *fruitless* as they have former *Parliaments*. The *Fanaticks* and the *Republicans*, of late turn'd *Trimmers*, as the more *Mischievous* sort of *Animals*, and such as fancy themselves *disoblig'd*, or whose *Crimes* have render'd them *obnoxious* to the *Government*, who think they can have no *Safety*, at least no *possibility* of compassing their *Ends*, but by our *disorder* and *Confusion*, now keep constant *Clubs* and *Cabals*, in all the *Corners* of the *Town*, to contrive such *Schemes* and *Measures*, as they think most proper to frustrate all honest *Mens Expectations*, by rendring the next *Sessions* ineffectual.

It has been always their *Policy* to begin with *Religion*, as the most *popular* *Topick* they can make use of, to engage the *unthinking Multitude* in the *Cause*, according to *Machiavel's Rule*, *Quoties vis fallere plebem, finge Deum*: Tho' tis well known, the old *Heathen Philosophers* were far better *Christians* than such *noisy Reformers* as we have had of late days, who were every *Moon* for *chopping* and *changing*, *paring* and *clipping Religion*, till they wou'd have left us none at all. It was *Erasmus* his *Drollery*, *Quid rerum nunc geritur in Anglia? Consulitur de Religione*. And it has been our *Misfortune* ever since to have been perplex'd with the same *Endless Consultations*; till at length *Christianity* it self was *Spirited away* from among us by an *Ignis Fatuus* of an *Imaginary Religion*, and nothing in

in a manner left to the Establish'd Church, that we cou'd call Primitive, but *Poverty and Persecution*. And all this while, which was our *fatal Error*, we never consider'd before-hand the *Lives* and *moral Actions* of those *Refiners* of the *Reformation*, that we might thereby know what spirit they were of: But, as if God wanted the *Devils assistance* to defend his *Church*, the loosest *Débauchees*, and the greatest *Hypocrites*, no sooner pretended to stand up for *Religion* and *Liberty*, but they were immediately *Canoniz'd* by the gaping *Crowd* into *tutelar Saints* and *true Protestant Patriots*. Thus poor *Perkin Warbeck*, and his good natur'd *Cornudo*, to omit many *hundreds* more of the same *Stamp*, were cryed up for the *main Pillars* of the *Protestant Religion*, that stood in the *Gap* against the *Indundations of Popery*; tho' at the same time little better than *Atheists*, and when their *Vizards* were pull'd off, and they cou'd stay no longer here, then each of them thought fit, for their *Spiritual Recreation*, to lead about a *Holy Sister* in their *Travels*, to propagate their *Gospel* in *Foreign Countries*.

But *Expedients*, say they, we must needs have to secure the *Protestant Religion*, otherwise the *Nation* will be at length prevail'd upon to return from whence they came, and once more to observe the *Souldiers* posture, *As you were*. I wish in the mean time we had an *effectual Expedient* to Cure some Peoples brains of *Maggots* and *Chimera's*, who seem to tremble with fear, where there is no *possibility* of *Danger*. Our *Religion*, I am sure, is already as well secur'd, and as firmly establish'd by the *Care* and *Vigilance* of our *Ancestors*, as the *Law* is able to make it, or *human wit* can devise; there being so many severe *Statutes* in force against all its *Opposers*, even to the <sup>\* 23 Eliz. 1.</sup> <sup>Sect. 2. & 3.</sup> <sup>Jac. 4. Sect. 22, 23.</sup> making it *Treason* to *pervert* or be *perverted*, that no *Power* on *Earth*, but our own *folly*, can alter or destroy it. Besides, to remove all *Objections*, and satisfie, if possible, the most *scrupulous* amongst us, *His Majesty* that now is, whose *Word* has ever been as *Sacred*, and as *punctually observ'd*, as the most *Solemn Laws* by any of his *Ancestors*, was graciously pleas'd, upon the late *Kings* *Decease*, to declare himself in *Council*, and give us this further *assurance*: *I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this Government both in Church and State, as it is now by Law established*. *I know the Principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have shew'd themselves*

lovers Good and Loyal Subjects, therefore I shall alwaies take care to defend and support it. *He bld*

Now if all these be thought *insufficient*, what new *Expedient* can be found able to secure us? If People be so base as to imagine, His *Majesty* will regard neither the *Establish'd Laws*, nor *His Royal Word*, nor yet *His undoubted Interest*, to what purpose shou'd People dream anymore of *Expedient*, since the *Laws* formerly made are as full and as binding, as any can be fain'd a new. Unless they will offer (and that to be sure is their *aim*) to clip the *Prerogative*, which is already par'd so very near the *grip*, that nothing more can be parted with, without *apparent danger* to the *Monarchy*. And therefore no *honest man*, or which is the same, no true *lover* of the *Government*, will *approve* of, much less *promote* any thing, that may tend to a further *diminution* of it; none but such as wou'd fain dash both *Church* and *State*, one against the other, will offer to *weaken* the *Crown*, on *pretence* to *support* the *Miter*; whereas indeed nothing can secure the one, but the *strength* and *power* of the other, which have been always observ'd, like *Hippocrates his Twins*, to *Laugh and Weep, Live and Dye* together.

But 'tis plain, *Religion* is not the Matter in *Question*, nor *Conscience* the *Motive* of all these *Frights* and *Apprehensions*. *Worldly Interest* is the *Spring* that moves all the *Wheels*, and provided these Men of *Zeal* and *Devotion*, cou'd but secure in their own *Hands* all the *Offices* and *Employments* in the *Kingdom*, I am morally certain, they wou'd not much care what *Mode of Religion* shou'd be in *Fashion*. For my part, tho' I have as much *reason* perhaps as another to wish, that none shou'd be employ'd in any considerable *Station* amongst us, but the *obedient Sons* of the *Church of England*, and that I see no manner of *grounds* to fear, while the *Laws* which the *King* has been graciously pleas'd to promise, shou'd be the *Rule* of his *Government*, are so strict and severe against all *Dissenters*, there shall be any other advanc'd in this *Kingdom*; whatsoever *His Majesty* may think fit to do, which is no businels of ours, in *His other Dominions*, especially in *Ireland*, where it is not only *lawfull*, but perhaps very *necessary* to employ some *Persons* of known *Integrity*, to ballance the *Cromwellians* and the *ungovernable Fanatics* there, who (I am told) have rais'd themselves from nothing to very considerable *Estates* by Fighting for *Oliver*, and therefore

we cannot easily forget the *Principles* nor the *Practice*,  
which of *Weavers*, *Coblers*, and other pitiful *Mechanicks*, made  
them *Esquires*, *Knights*, and *Peers* of that *Realm*. Tho' I say,  
there is no *Moral Possibility* of any others being prefer'd here,  
but such as will, at least *seemingly* conform according to *Law*;  
yet to give you my own thoughts upon that Point, I must  
tell you, that as I have been always of *Opinion*, that *Honesty*  
is not only the best *Policy*, but the best *Religion*, it being con-  
fess'd by all, that the *Honest Man* only goes to *Heaven*; and as  
it cannot enter into my Head, how it is possible for any to  
be really *solicitous* about *Religion*, that practises nothing of it  
in his *Life* or *Conversation*: So I cou'd never yet be induc'd  
to believe, it was the *Interest* either of *Church* or *State* to make  
an *outward Profession* of the *establish'd Religion* a *necessary step*  
to *Preferment*. That indeed with the *Practice* and other *En-  
dowments* must be always exacted in *Spiritual Promotions*; but  
*Merit* only and *good Services* to the *Crown* shou'd, in my *Opin-  
ion*, be thought enough to recommend *Candidates* to *Civil*  
or *Military Employments*. And as it is *Demonstrable*, the *Mo-  
narchy* has been very much weakn'd, by making that the *Stan-  
dard* of the *Princes* favour, which neither *King* nor *Kingdom*  
were a *Straw* the better for; so 'tis plain the *Church* suffer'd  
extremly by the accession of *thousands* of *Atheists* and *profane  
Libertines*, who pretended to be of her *Communion* for no other  
*Reason*, but to qualify themselves for *Offices* and *Preferments*;  
by which means, besides the *Opportunity* given to such *ill men*  
to execute any *Villany* upon an occasion, to the great *bazard*  
of the *State*, many a *well-meaning Christian* was very much *scan-  
daliz'd*, and a *Gap* open'd to her *Enemies* to throw all the *dirt*  
they cou'd upon the *most primitive Reform'd Church* in the *World*.  
'Tis certainly an odd sort of *Policy*, to exclude one that sig-  
naliz'd his *Ability* and his *Loyalty* to the *Crown*, for some *di-  
fferences* in *Religious Opinions*, own'd even by ourselves *unnecessary*  
to *Salvation*; and prefer another that never gave any one  
*Instance* of either, because he makes no *Conscience* of taking,  
nor will perhaps of *breaking*, any *Test* or *Oath* that is tender'd  
him.

We see the *Politick French Monarch*, tho' *Himself* and the *Ge-  
nerality* of his *People* are *zealous Papists*, do nevertheless prefer

such of his *Protestant Subjects* as he finds deserving, to places of *Trust* and *Profit*, sends them *Envys* and *Ambassadors* to his neighbouring *Princes*, makes them *Captains* and *Colonels* in his *Army*, and raises them by degrees according to their *Honesty* and *Capacity*, as appears by Monsieur *Schomberg*, whom tho' a zealous *Protestant*, he made *Mareschal of France*, and consequently *General* in his turn, one of the *highest Stations* and of the greatest *Trust* in his whole *Kingdom*. Neither can the *French Papists* be offended at the *Advancement* of any such, when they consider 'tis but *Equity* and the *undoubted Right* of the *Subject*; because that part of *political Justice*, which is call'd *Distributive*, always makes it a *due Debt* upon the *Prince* to reward his *Subjects* according to their *Deserts*, as the *Vindictive part* does oblige him on the other side to punish *Offenders* according to their *Demerits*; with this only *Difference*, that he can with much better *Conscience forgive* the one, than *forget* the other.

Besides, when a *Prince* has several *Factions*, whether *Religious* or *Civil* in his *Dominions*, as *Protestant* and *Papist*, *Guelph* and *Gibelline*, which he cannot easily reconcile, 'tis his *Interest*, by employing them indifferently according to their *Parts* and *Loyalty*, to keep the *Ballance* in an equal *Libration*; that while they are at enmity amongst themselves, they shall have no *Aversion* to him, who impartially rewards them in proportion to their *Deserts*: which must needs create such an *Emulation* betwixt his *Subjects*, that they will strive to outdo each other to serve their *Prince*, to the great *Advantage* of the *Publick*; and every one, instead of depending on the *idle Interest* of his *Party*, will endeavour to lay a better and a more useful *Foundation*, that of his own *Merit*, to raise him to *Preferment*. Whereas the contrary Practice will slacken the *Hearts* and *Hands* of many an *able Subject*, who thinking themselves oblig'd in *Honour* not to quit their *Party*, and perhaps in *Conscience* also not to change their *Perswasion* for *Worldly Interest*; if they find they are upon that account uncapable of a *due Encouragement*, they will be *remiss* in promoting their *Princes service*: For it is always observ'd, that *Honour and Reward* are the great *Motives to Zeal and Diligence* for the *Publick*; few being now-a-days of the old *Philosophers* temper, to *love*

love *Virtue* for it self; and therefore the *Poet* was very much in the Right, when he said, *Quis enim Virtutem amplectitur ipsam, Præmia si tollas?*

Ay, sayes one, but if that were once allow'd, the Protestant Religion wou'd soon decay, and People turn Papists, in great Numbers. A good riddance of them, say I; for 'tis plain nothing cou'd be more the *Interest* of the *Establish'd Church*, than to be quit of all her *Counterfeit Members*, who follow *Christ* for the *Loaves*; because of all *Enemies* the pretended *Friend* is the most dangerous. Since therefore \* no *True* or *Real Protestant*, none but *Libertines* and *dissembling Conformists* wou'd desert the *Churches Communion* in the Case suppos'd; where is the *Harm*, if that *Temptation* were remov'd, and the wither'd unprofitable *Branches* left to fall off by Degrees? Such as insist upon this *Objection*, I am sure, are either silly *Fools* that understand not what they say, or they have the *Jesuit's* and the *Dissenters* fence of the *Establish'd Religion*, that it must have *Baits* and *Allurements* to gain *Proselytes*; which is certainly the greatest *Scandal* imaginable upon any *Church* or *Persuasion* whatsoever. For *Truth* will ever prevail, *Magna est veritas & prævalebit*; and tho' it may be *Clouded* for some time, yet it can never be *overcome*, because it alwaies stands firm upon *Feet of Iron*, without any *mixture of Clay*. Are not we then extreamly oblig'd to such rare *Advocates*, who seem to plead for the *Establish'd Church*, and with the same *Breath* endeavour to make her *Ridiculous* to her *Enemies*? As if she were not able to stand her *Ground* in *Spirituals*, without a *Monopoly* of all the *temporal Advantages* of the *Kingdom*; which (as St. Jerome \* has long since well observ'd) does very often rather *binder*, than *advance* the *Purity* of the *Gospel*. Yet this I perceive, is the *ordinary Method* of the *Faction*, to make loud pretences of *Zeal* for the *Church*, and of *Loyalty* to the *King*, and at the same time take such *Measures* under this *Mask*, as will effectually *Weaken*, if not *Destroy* both in the *Conclusion*.

But the *Main Point* is yet behind, which if they can but compass by *Hook* or by *Crook*, they are *cock-sure* of the *Victory*;

\* *Nemo extinet bonos peccata Ecclesia dicere: Triticum non rapit ventus, nec arboreum solida radice fundatam procella subvertit. Inanes paleæ tempestate jaclantur.* S. Cyprian.

\* *Postquam Ecclesia exiit Christianos habere Magistratus, facta est quidem opinio maior, sed virtutibus minor.* S. Hierom.

But if they shou'd fail, as undoubtedly they will, all their other *Arts* and *Contrivances* will prove insignificant. The *Revenue* settled on the late *King*, tho' very inconsiderable to support the *Grandeur* and the *ordinary Charge* of the *Government*, has been a great *Grievance* to the *Godly Party*, and no small *Block* in their way to a *thorough Reformation*, that is in plain *English*, the *Subversion* of *Church* and *State*. And therefore they have now all their *Engines* at work to hinder the settling on his present *Majesty* such *Branches* of it, as are not already made *perpetual*, that *He* may not be able either to defend *His People*, or to offend *His Enemies*. But as the *Devil*, when he intends most *Mischief*, transforms himself into an *Angel* of *Light*, so do our *giddy Gospellers*, to hide their *Cloven Foot* of *Separation*, pretend to be *zealous Advocates* for the *Church of England*, when really they design *Her Ruine*, which they know has no *Security* under *God*, but in the *Strength* and *Power* of the *Monarchy*. They boast, that besides some *Lords* and several *Commoners* of the *Establish'd Religion*, they have got a *Prelate* or two (and you may remember they allow'd us lately but two *Protestant Bishops*) to joyn with them in their *Insolent Proposal* for *Clipping the Prerogative*; which if refus'd, as they expect it will, because *unreasonable* and of very ill *Consequence*, they hope it may then beget such *Misunderstandings* between *King* and *Parliament*, as will make them part without providing for the *Security* of the *Publick*. Yet because they find the *Nation* is now grown weary of *Confusion*, and the *Major Part*, out of a *sense* of *Duty* and *common safety*, inclin'd to comply with their *Sovereign* for the support of the *Government*, they have another *Project*, which they think will better take, and in *Process of Time* will do their *Work* as well, *viz.* that the *Revenue* be not settled but from *Year* to *Year*, at most not above *three Years* together, that they may, like *Dutiful Subjects*, keep their *Sovereign* on his *good Behaviour*; by which *Means* they are sure of *frequent opportunities* to shuffle the *Cards* again, and venture *in spite of Fate* another *Game* for the *Good Old Cause*.

These, Sir, are the *wild Imaginations* of a restless sort of *People* amongst us, whose *Religion*, like the *Story* of the *Salamander* in the *Fire*, never *thieves* but in *Confusion*. And therefore I shou'd be sorry, that any *Member* of the *Church of England*, whose *Doctrine* I am sure is quite opposite, shou'd be so far misled, as to joyn with them in such *Disloyal Contrivances*. We may easily observe

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erve from late and former Experience, that the *Welfare* of all *Nations*, but more particularly of this, wholly consists in a *good Understanding*, and *mutual Confidence* between *Prince* and *People*; and that if the one be *jealous* of the other, neither our *Peace* at home, nor *Trade* abroad can be *Durable*; for both *Domestick* and *Foreign Enemies* will daily gain ground upon us, and make us at length a *Prey* to their *Malice* or *Ambition*.

Besides, if we consider the *Grievous Complaints* of former ages against *Monopolies*, and the frequent *Disputes* about the *Kings Prerogative*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, with the *many Evils* that follow'd to the great *Hazard* of the *Publick*, which were all founded on the *want of Money*, we shall quickly conclude with the *Emperour Theodosius*, *Periculosisimum Animal Pauper Rex*: And that it is neither *Dutiful* nor *Prudent* in *Subjects* to tempt their *Prince* to go out of the beaten *Road*, and strain his *Prerogative*, or hearken to the *Devices* of *Projectors*, for the *support* of his *Government*. His *Majesty* in his most *Gracious Declaration* was pleas'd to take particular notice of the *Loyalty* both of the *Members* and of the *Principles* of the *Church of England*, and promis'd upon that Account to defend and support it. But, if in stead of continuing *Loyal* and *Faithful*, according to our *Duty* and to our *Conscience*, we shou'd endeavour by raising a *Faction* in the *State*, to make the *Crown* *uneasie*, we cancel the *Obligation* of this *Gracious Promise*, and give his *Majesty* occasion to make us as *uneasie* as he pleases. For 'tis manifest, as his *Majesty* well observ'd, the *Laws of England* are *sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he can wish*: And if he were forc'd by the *Baseness* of some *People* to take such *Measures* in his own *Defence*, which I am certain, nothing but their *Perverseness* cou'd induce him to do, 'tis *Demonstrable*, he cou'd raise more *Money* that way in one year, than he can expect from his *Parliament* in three.

This cou'd be made out by several *Instances*, yet because I have always been a great *Enemy* to *Projects*, and very averse from cutting out *new ways* for raising the *King Money*, when a *Parliament*, if mindful of their *Duty* and of the *Publick Good*, is undoubtedly the *Best* and the most *Natural Method*, I will instance only two *Branches*, and make no *extravagant Calculation*, to

2 & 3 E. 6.  
c. 19.

to prove my Assertion. The first is, that if the  
\* Laws made by K. Edward 6. and confirm'd by  
Q. Elizabeth and K. James, against eating of Flesh  
in Lent and other Fasting-days, were put in execution, where  
the least Penalty is ten shillings and ten days Im-  
prisonment for the first, and double for the second  
Offence (not to mention higher \* Forfeitures since  
impos'd) most People rather than be obnoxious to  
such Penalties, or oblig'd to abstain from Flesh near  
150 days in the Year, two Fifths of the whole, wou'd give  
a yearly Sum, at least 20 shillings one with another, and save  
treble by it in the price of Fish, for Licences from the King,  
according to a Proviso made in one of the said Statutes: Pro-  
vided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the Authority  
aforesaid, That this Act or any thing therein contained, shall  
not in any wise extend to any Person or Persons, that hereto-  
fore hath, or hereafter shall have obtained any Licence of our  
Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs or Successors. 2 & 3 Ed.  
6.C. 19. Sect. 5. Now all knowing Men do generally agree there  
are in England at least six Millions of Persons, and we may  
reasonably suppose above two Fifths liable to this Statute, who  
consequently wou'd yield to the Crown two Millions and a half  
of Pounds Sterling per An. near double the Produce of the  
three great Branches of the Revenue, the Customs, Excise, and  
Hearth Money. Secondly, If his Majesty, which God forbid,  
should find the Members of the Church of England refractory,  
and thereupon think fit to countenance the Dissenters, and sus-  
pend the Penal Laws against them, pursuant to the Bill pass'd  
both Houses in the last Parliament at Westminster, he might  
have their Hearts and Purses at his Devotion, if it were for no  
other Reason, but to spite the establish'd Church, and seem to  
outdo them in Loyalty. And since there are in England above  
six hundred thousand Dissenters and Libertines, who wou'd ra-  
ther pay 12 pence a Sunday, that is 52 shillings per An. than  
be oblig'd to go to Church; his Majesty might receive above a  
Million and a half more upon this Account.

Thus I have shew'd you in part, how the King might raise  
Money enough to supply his Necessities, without the Assistance  
of a Parliament; yet at the same time I must tell you, I do  
not

\* 5. Eliz. 5.  
Sect. 15. &  
35 Eliz. 7. 22.  
& 17 Car. 1.  
c. 4.

not approve of the *Method*, nor do I believe his *Majesty* will ever make use of any such *Artifice*, who values more a *Penny* with the *Affection* of his *People*, than a *Pound* gain'd by any other *Means*. Nevertheless, it makes it plain, 'tis our *Interest* as well as *Duty*, not to tempt him too much; for if it be a true saying; *Cervus lacesitus Leo*, what shall a *Lyon* be, when provok'd beyond *Measure*?

As for that *Faction* *Contrivance* of the *Cabal*, to have the *Revenue* settled but from year to year, or some limited time, 'tis so *Base* and so *Disloyal* a *Project*, that it is not to be imagin'd the *Parliament* wou'd propose, or the *King* accept of any such thing. 'Tis enough to make all *Honest Men* abhor it, that it was never off'r'd to any *King* of *England*, but to his *Majesties* *Father*, our *Royal Martyr*, whom the *Bloodhounds*, that hunted him to the *Scaffold*, thought fit to feed as it were with *Sugar-plums*, till they wheedled him out of all *Power*, and then made him a *Sacrifice* to secure their *Usurpation*. But the *Impudence* of the *Faction*, is very *prodigious*, who have the *Face* to think of such a *Proposal*, and at the same time talk of the *Necessity* of a *general Act of Indemnity*, to *forget* and *forgive* all past *Mis-carriages*. Wou'd it please them, think you, to have such a *Pardon* as wou'd secure them from *Justice* from year to year, or from one *Session* of *Parliament* to another, as they are pleas'd to propose about the *Revenue*? Or wou'd they have the *Revenue* so *Limited*, and the *Pardon* made *Absolute*? This I am sure no *Honest man* will approve of; none, but a *Partie* in the late *Conspiracy* will offer or promote. I am sensible an *Act of Oblivion*, provided the *Crown* were secur'd against further Attempts, wou'd be a great *Means* to quiet *Peoples* minds; whereof a great many are still *Apprehensive*, the *Conspirators*, that fled from *Justice*, will one time or other be taken, or freely come in, and to save their own *Bacon*, will discover their *Accomplices* in that *Hellish Design*, which (as *Captain Walcot* confess'd in his last *Speech* at *Tyburn*) was *laid very deep*, and the *King* had a *great many men* to take *Judgment* of: But otherwise 'tis only acquitting the *Faction* of all their former *Contrivances*, and exposing the *Monarchy* to their *future Designs*.

This wou'd be a *Fatal Error* indeed, and of so pernicious a *Consequence*, that we need not fear there will be any such *Pardon* granted,

granted, without good Provision made on the other side to keep the *Disaffected* in awe. And 'tis manifest there is no possibility of providing for, or securing the *Crown*, nor consequently the *Peace* and *Tranquillity* of his Majesties good Subjects, any other way than by settling for ever a *sufficient Revenue* for the *Support* and *Defence* of the *Government* against all the *Machinations* of its *Enemies*. For to settle a *fond*, tho otherwise considerable, for a term of years, or during Life, is like the *Jesuits Powder*, which puts the *ill Humors* asleep for some time, but destroys not the *Original Cause* of the Distemper. And if we consider that the *Nation* woud think it less grievous, to be tax'd yearly a *Million* of Money for seven years together, than oblig'd to pay four *Millions* in any one year, without being charg'd a Farthing for the other six, because the former operates like *Physical Dyt*, but the latter like a *Violent Purgation*, we shall find 'tis no les the *Peoples* than the *Princes* Interest to have the *Revenue* made certain and perpetual. It was well observ'd by the best *Parliament* that ever met in our Days, *That nothing conduceth more to the Peace and Prosperity of a Nation, and the Protection of every single Person therein, than that the Publick Revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the Publick Charge and Expence.* 13 & 14 Car. 2. Cap. 10. Sect. 1.

Since therefore the *Charges* of the *Government* are for the most part *perpetual*, is it not the *undoubted Interest* of all *Honest Men*, and particularly of those that have any thing to lose, to allow and settle upon the *Crown* for ever such a *proportionable Revenue*, as may secure them in the *peaceable Possession* of the rest? As for the present, 'tis our *Comfort*, that *God* in his *Mercy* has been pleas'd to set a *Prince* to reign over us, so extraordinarily qualified for the greatest *Undertakings*, that we may well conclude, *He was born to retrieve the sinking Glory of the English Nation*, in whom the *Prudence* of *Henry* the *seventh*, and the *Courage* of *Henry* the *Eighth*, without the *Dross*, either of the *formers* *close Parcimony*, or of the *laters* too much *Severity*, do meet in *Perfection*: So that in His Days notwithstanding all the *Snarlings* of an *inveterate* sort of *People*, we need not fear any considerable *Disturbance*. But if it please *God* to call him, which I heartily wish may not be till after a *Long* and *Prosperous Reign*, from an *Earthly* to a *Heavenly Crown*, and leave no *Issue Male*, or but a *Child* to succeed him, what shall then become of the *Monarchy*,

the greatest part of the Revenue happens to  
spring. The people will dwindle afresh into several *Parties* and  
*Passions*, the *Republicans* have an opportunity to push for their  
*Darling Commonwealth*, and the *Crown* because poor, and the *Success-*  
*for* not very active, will be in danger of being made a *Prey* by the  
*strongest Arm and longest Sword*; which will inevitably turn our *Brit-*  
*ish Paradise* into a *Field of Blood*, and involve the three *Kingdoms* in  
endless Confusions.

To prevent therefore such *Fatal Calamities*, as I do not question  
your *Zeal* in the Matter, so I hope your *Fellow-Members*, and the  
whole *Representative Wisdom* of the *Nation*, *King*, *Lords* and *Com-*  
*mons*, will take effectual care to secure your *Country*, not only in  
your *own days*, but as far as possible, for *Future Generations*. If you  
consider, how *stiff* and *unreasonably obstinate* *People* are sometimes,  
who like the *Foolish Members* in the *Apologue* combining against  
the *Belly*, refuse to help their *Prince*, tho' to prevent their own  
and their *Countries* ruine, you can have no *Reason* to leave a busi-  
ness of such *Importance*, as the *Welfare* of your *Posterity*, to *blind*  
*chance*, or to the *Humor* and *Caprio* of pretended *Patriots*. The  
taking of *Constantinople* by *Mahomet* the Great gives us a remark-  
able *instance* of this sort of *Madness*, which made the *Grecians* of a  
*Learned flourishing Nation*, become the most *ignorant Peasants*, and  
the *veriest Slaves* in *Nature*. The poor *Emperor* went, as it were  
for *Alms* from door to door, begging of the *Rich Citizens* to con-  
tribute a little *Money* to enable him against the *Common Enemy*:  
but they pleaded *Poverty*, and wou'd not part with a *Farthing*,  
till the *Town* was taken by *Storm*, and *three hundred Millions* of  
their *Money* brought into the *Conquerors Coffers*; who wondering  
how so *Rich* a *City* cou'd be so easily won, said, *If these People*  
*had bestow'd but three Millions of this Money in defence of their*  
*City, I cou'd never have taken it.* But what need we go into *For-*  
*reign Countries*, when we have *instances* enough at *Home*, and  
within our own *Memory*, to convince us of this *Truth*. The strange  
*usage* *King C H A R L E S* the first, and his late *Majesty* for some  
years past, receiv'd from an *ungrateful sort of People*, (who the more  
*Gracious* and *obliging* they found their *Prince*, the more *Stiff* and *Re-*  
*fractory* still they grew, to the undoing almost of the whole *Nation*) is  
warning enough to all honest and thinking *Men*, to provide  
against such dangerous *Fits of Madness* for the future.

made, as wou'd for ever secure the ~~Government~~ of the Country, both *Foreign* and *Domestick*; but then, on the other side, what security wou'd the *People* have, that the *Prince* wou'd not make, in three Generations, *shake off his Parliaments*, and make *Himself absolute*? This, I must confess, is a very *Popular Objection*; and the main *Block* in our way to a *Happy Settlement*, which is never to be hop'd for without a mutual Confidence between *Prince* and *People*: yet we see, it weigh'd not with the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, whose steady *Loyalty* in the late times of *Tryal*, and now in making the *Revenue* of that Kingdom *Perpetual*, has made all possible amends for the many Evils the *Scotch Covenant* has formerly brought upon us. And I hope, it shall never be said, that an *English Parliament* will be behind them in *Duty* or *Affection* to their *Prince*, or less mindful of the *Publick*; especially when they can have no other grounds for so doing, but bare unsupposable possibilities of future *Inconveniences*. For it is not to be imagin'd by *Rational Men*, that any *King of England* will ever be so far overseen, as to hazard the loss of all the hearts of his *People*; the *only support* and *security* of *Princes*, to make himself somewhat more *absolute*, while he may, even by the *Laws of the Land*, be as great a *Monarch* as any good *Christian* can wish; and the frequent *Meetings* and *Councils* of *King* and *Parliament* are the *only means* to make both *Prince* and *People Happy*; because, as *Solomon* tells us, *Without Counsel, Purposes are disappointed, but in the multitude of Counsellours they are established*. *Prov. 15. 22.*

Nevertheless, to obviate this and all other Objections of that kind, if we seriously consider Matters, we shall find that a middle course may be taken, by which we may avoid all these *Inconveniences*. For if a competent *Revenue*, that is, the *Customs* and the *temporary* part of the *Excise*, be made *perpetual*, to support the *Crown* against *Forreign* or *Domestick Designs*, upon the Death of the *Sovereign*; And because this is not sufficient to defray the necessary *Charges of the Government*, while our *Neighbours* have far greater *Revenues*, if the *Parliament* will settle an *Additional Fond* for Life, whereof part shall be appropriated to particular uses, and the *overplus* laid up in *Bank*, instead of our *occasional Taxes*, towards the *Expence* of a *War*, &c. with this *Proviso*, that all *Officers concerned* shall give the *Parliament* a full account of their *Receipts* and *Disbursements* *there* in.

otherwise all further *Levies of the same to cease* ;  
and *People* will then be secur'd, *Parliaments* even  
on this account will be found still necessary, the *Nation* much  
in mind, in *raising their Taxes*, and the *Crown* made more considerable  
both at home and abroad.

You will excuse me, I hope, if I do not any further descend to Particulars, or take upon me to tell you exactly, which your Fellow-Members can do a great deal better, how much may be a sufficient Fund to answer all the ends aforemention'd. 'Tis enough to say in general, that I see no other Rule in that Case to be made use of, but the Consideration of the Strength and Riches of our Neighbour-Nations, and that the Publick *Revenue* of *England* must bear some proportion to theirs, unless we intend to live within ourselves, and think no longer on trading with Forreign Countries. We see how much the *French* and *Dutch* have, within these fourscore years past, encroach'd upon our undoubted Right, the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, and by that upon our Trade and Commerce, the great Magazine of our Wealth, to the los of many Millions a year to the *English* Nation. And we cannot in reason expect they will desist, untill we put ourselves into such a posture, as will make it visible to the World, we are able to cope with them, and to recover our own; which yet is altogether impossible, as long as we have nothing else to depend upon, but temporary Taxes, to carry on a War; while they have vast Sums of Money in Cash, and a large yearly *Revenue* to oppose us, the *French King* about twelve Millions of Pounds sterl<sup>ing</sup> *per an.* and the *Dutch*, who in *Queen Eliz.* time stild themselves, *The poor distressed States of Holland*, above five Millions, coming in yearly into their publick Treasury. For they cannot be ignorant, but that the extraordinary Charge of a War, falling upon us all of a sudden, will quickly make the *People* here so uneasie, that they will be content to quit their Right after all their loses, and clap up a Peace on any terms, rather than bear such heavy unusual Taxes any longer; so that if our Enemies can but prolong the War for some years, they will by degrees weary us out, and force us at last to a Compliance. Whereas if they saw, we had a considerable Sum of Money in Cash, and the like yearly coming in, to defray the Charge of a War without making the *People* uneasie, they wou'd be more cautious how to offend us, and without striking a stroke wou'd be ready to comply with all our reasonable Demands.

But because the Circulation of Money is thought as necessary to the *Body Politick*, as that of Blood to the *Natural*, and therefore the hoarding up such Sums in time of Peace wou'd prove very prejudicial to Trade, the Life and Vigour of a *Commonwealth*, this intended Bank of Money may still be laid out to use on good Securities by *Commissioners* appointed by *Act of Parliament*, some of the most knowing, most honest, and best estated of both Houses, and the Interest constantly employ'd either in building *Work-houses* for the *Strong*, and *Hospitals* for the *Sick and Disabled Poor* of the *Kingdom*, or in some publick Trade, as the *Woollen Manufacture*, *Fishing*, or the like, which will be of infinite Advantage to the whole Body of the *Nation*. Neither is it it to be reckon'd the least, that this Method wou'd in a short time spoil the sport of *upstart cheating Bankers*, who stick like *Leeches* daily sucking the *Blood* of the credulous unwary People, while they can find any faith upon earth ; but when that fails them, so that they can suck no more, then they drop off, and to the ruine of hundreds of poor families wilfully break for many thousands of Pounds, tho' perhaps not one of them had a hundred to begin withal, and run into the *Fryers* or the *Kings-Bench*, where they live like petty Princes upon the Fortunes of poor Widows and Orphans, to whom in case they condescend to come to any Composition, they will hardly allow a Crown in the Pound of their Principal Money. And which is very strange, there is no *Corporal Punishment* here, as in *Foreign Countries*, not so much as the *Pillory* to be inflicted in this *Cafe*, nor any other *Remedy* to behad, if the *Bankrupt* has the wit to secure his Books and Money, which he may easily do, when he *designedly* breaks to defraud his *Creditors*.

This is a hard case indeed, and a very great grievance, well worth the *Parliaments Care* to contrive such Laws as may prevent the like for the future; But the *Devil of Perjury* is the grand *Grievance* of all, which best deserves their most serious Consideration : For if such as deal with *Bankrupts* are *ruin'd* in their *Estates*, and if upon that account others are frightned from laying out their Money, because for a *little Gain* they will not *hazard* the loss of their whole *Fortune*, which is a main obstruction to Trade ; the *True-Protestant Flayl of Perjury* will not only ruine *People* in their *Fortunes*, but will *Hocus Pocus* them out of their *Innocence*, and sweep *Estate*, *Reputation*, *Life* and all away, to the utter undoing of whole *Families*. Yet certainly

not any more ado ; but  
if a blanke cheare be given to all his Majesties Subjects, of Millions  
and Millions, and an hundred into the Fryers or Kings-Bench, he is as  
idle as a Tassel in a Mill, and cares not a straw whether his Cre-  
ditors do live or starve. And which is yet worse, if a forsworn Vil-  
lain will set up for a Kings Evidence, and by his Perjuries murder  
never so many innocent Subjects, all he is to suffer, is to stand in the  
Pillory, or lose his *more harmless Ears*, instead of his *Murde-  
ring Tongue*. Whereas the Divine Law expressly orders, that *Whoever  
sheddest mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*, Gen. 9. 6.

But the Truth is, tho' the Fundamentals of our Constitutions be  
undoubtedly the best Laws in the world, and the most suitable to the  
Genius of the *English* Nation ; yet we have several defects on the  
one hand, and a great deal of rubbish on the other, that want a  
Reformation, the proper province of *King* and *Parliament*. And  
in this case, as I am certain of your Zeal, so I doubt not but your Fel-  
low-Members will be forward enough to promote so good a Work,  
whereon the happiness of this Nation so much depends, which  
some of their Predecessors have strangely neglected. For I find the  
*French Gentleman* was not very much out in his Observation, when  
he said, that as the *Roman* Conclave's overbusying themselves with  
Temporal Matters and State-Affairs, which was none of their bus-  
iness, did no small injury to the Christian Religion ; so several  
Members of our House of Commons for some years past, medling  
too much with Religion, and prying into Intrigues of State, which  
was quite out of their\* Sphere, made them ver-  
ry much neglect the true Interest of their Coun-  
try. But now, I hope, we have got a true English  
Parliament, that will zealously promote the Good  
of the Publick, disable the Faction from making  
any disturbance, settle a sufficient Revenue upon the  
Crown, to support the Grandeur and necessary  
Charge of the Government, repeal the useless and  
enact new Laws for the advancement of Trade, and in a word, make  
their King as happy in this, as ever any of his Ancestors have been in  
their most Royal and bountiful Parliaments : Which, because the  
only way to a *Lasting Settlement*, is the hearty wish of

\* 35 Eliz. The Queen  
herself told the Com-  
mons, It was not meant  
they shou'd meddle  
with matters of State,  
or Causes Ecclesiasti-  
cal. And the like did  
K. James 1. San-  
dersons Hist. p. 510.

SIR,

Your &c.

7. May  
1685

F I N I S.